

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 EB-07 CCO-00 CIAE-00

OTPE-00 FCC-01 INR-07 NSAE-00 OC-06 COME-00 BIB-01

DODE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02

L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EAE-00 /096 W

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O 271705Z SEP 76 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2760

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L NAIROBI 10457

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: INTELSTAT, OCON, PFOR, CH, TW

SUBJECT: INTELSTAT: CHINA

REF: (A) NAIROBI 10451, (B) STATE 239290

SUMMARY: ON THE BASIS OF OUR SOUNDINGS HERE IT APPEARS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THAT DISCUSSION OF THE CHINA ISSUE CAN BE HEADED OFF AT THE INTELSTAT ASSEMBLY. THE DELEGATION HAS HAD A DISCUSSION WITH THE PAKISTAN DELEGATION IN WHICH WE STRESSED THE NEED WE SEE TO CONFINE AN INITIATIVE, IF ONE IS INEVITABLE, TO TIGHT LIMITS POLITICALLY AND LEGALLY, AND THE PAKISTAN DELEGATION UNDERTOOK TO CONVEY TO ISLAMABAD FOR ITS CONSIDERATION LANGUAGE REFLECTING THIS (PARA 3 BELOW). THE DELEGATION RECOMMENDS ACTION AS STATED IN PARA 6 BELOW. END SUMMARY.

1. DISCUSSIONS THE DELEGATION HAS HAD WITH OTHERS HERE MAKE IT PLAIN THAT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO HOPE THAT THE CHINESE REPRESENTATION QUESTION IN INTELSTAT CAN BE MADE TO EVAPORATE AT THIS ASSEMBLY AS MOOT IN LIGHT OF THE ROC

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LETTER OF WITHDRAWAL. THE PAKISTAN DELEGATION IS EXPLORING

HOW TO PROCEED, NOT WHETHER TO, AND HAS IN HAND A DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH WE HAVE NOT SEEN BUT GATHER IS FAIRLY HARDLINE. THE POINT PRESENTLY AT ISSUE IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS AND REINFORCED (IF NOT POSED) BY THE PRC COMMUNICATION (REF B) IS WHETHER RECOGNITION OF THE ROC'S ACT OF WITHDRAWAL DOES NOT CONSTITUTE RECOGNITION BY THE ORGANIZATION OF A SEPARATE "CHINA" COMPETENT TO ACT AS A SEPARATE STATE. FRIENDLY DELEGATIONS WITH WHOM WE HAVE CONSULTED ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT THE BEST FEASIBLE OUTCOME WOULD BE TO PERSUADE PAKISTAN AND ITS SUPPORTERS TO RE-CAST THEIR INITIATIVE IN A WAY WHICH BY-PASSES THIS QUESTION. THE ACCEPTABLE MINIMUM ELEMENTS WOULD APPEAR TO BE ACTION (A) NOTING THAT CHINA PRESENTLY IS NOT REPRESENTED IN THE ORGANIZATION AND (B) WELCOMING THE PRC EXPRESSION OF INTEREST IN JOINING THE ORGANIZATION. THERE IS SOME SLIGHT POSSIBILITY THAT SUCH AN ASSEMBLY ACTION MIGHT BE CONFINED TO AN ASSEMBLY DECISION EXPRESSED IN THE RECORD, THUS AVOIDING BECOMING BOGGED DOWN IN RESOLUTION DRAFTING. WE ARE NOT AT ALL CONFIDENT AT THIS POINT THAT SUCH MINIMUM FINESSING OF THE ISSUE COULD BE SECURED.

2. IN A CONVERSATION TODAY WITH PAKISTAN DELEGATION HEAD SIDDIQI (TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH DG) AND PAKISTAN EMBOFF ASHRAF, SIDDIQI CONCENTRATED ON THE NEED PAKISTAN SEES FOR ACTION BY THE ASSEMBLY WHICH WOULD DECLARE PAST ROC MEMBERSHIP TO HAVE BEEN ILLEGAL AND EXPLICITLY CANCEL SUCH MEMBERSHIP. HE INDICATED THAT THERE WAS NO FLEXIBILITY IN HIS INSTRUCTIONS ON THESE POINTS, AND SEPARATELY EMPHASIZED THAT PAKISTAN BELIEVES THE PRC MUST BE SATISFIED ON THIS. WE OUTLINED TO HIM THE THINKING WE FOUND EMERGING AMONG DELEGATIONS WHO FELT THE QUESTION NEED NOT BE ADDRESSED IN THIS HEAD-ON FASHION BUT WOULD BE ABLE TO SUPPORT AN ASSEMBLY ACTION CONFINED TO THE TWO ELEMENTS OUTLINED IN PARA 1 ABOVE. ASHRAF PICKED UP THIS IDEA IN A TENTATIVE WAY AND SIDDIQI AGREED TO PUT TO ISLAMABAD FOR CONSIDERATION THE FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION DRAFTED BY ASHRAF IN DISCUSSION WITH US (THE QUESTION OF WHETHER IT WOULD BE IN THE FORM OF AN ASSEMBLY DECISION OR A RESOLUTION BEING LEFT OPEN

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FOR THE PRESENT):

3. "MINDFUL OF UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 2758, THE ASSEMBLY TAKES NOTE OF THE FACT THAT CHINA IS NOT REPRESENTED IN THE INTELSAT ORGANIZATION, AND THE ASSEMBLY FURTHER TAKES NOTE OF THE EXPRESSION OF INTEREST BY THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO JOIN INTELSAT AND TAKE PART IN ITS ACTIVITIES WITH A VIEW TO PROMOTING

TELECOMMUNICATIONS COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES AND DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL SATELLITE TELECOMMUNICATIONS.  
THE ASSEMBLY WELCOMES THE EXPRESSION OF INTEREST OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN BECOMING A MEMBER AND LOOKS FORWARD TO ITS PARTICIPATION AS A MEMBER."

4. COMMENT: WE DOUBT THAT SIDDIQI, WHO APPEARED RELUCTANT TO DEPART FROM VERY RIGID INTERPRETATION OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS, WILL PRESENT FOREGOING LANGUAGE TO ISLAMABAD WITH VERY STRONG ENDORSEMENT. ON THE OTHER HAND, AT LEAST ASHRAF WAS FORTHCOMING TO THE POINT OF ATTEMPTING TO SEE HOW IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO TAKE ACTION WITHIN NARROWER POLITICAL AND LEGAL LIMITS. BOTH FORESAW DIFFICULTY IN BRINGING AROUND THE CO-SPONSORS OF THEIR EARLIER DRAFT RESOLUTION. (WE HAVE HEARD THERE ARE SEVENTEEN.) THEY WERE ALL BUT EXPLICIT IN INDICATING ANY ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE WOULD BE REVIEWED CAREFULLY WITH THE PRC. GIVEN THESE COMPLICATIONS PAKISTAN IS WORKING FOR A TWO DAY DEFERRAL OF ASSEMBLY ACTION ON THE CHINA AGENDA ITEM (PROBABLY UNTIL SEPTEMBER 30, BUT POSSIBLY ONLY UNTIL SEPTEMBER 29.) AND OUR JUDGEMENT IS THAT THEY WILL HAVE NO DIFFICULTY OBTAINING THIS.

5. THE APPREHENSION BEING EXPRESSED HERE, WHICH THE DELEGATION SHARES, IS THAT UNLESS PRESSURE IS BROUGHT TO BEAR SOON AND HARD ON PAKISTAN ITS INITIATIVE COULD OVER-

SHOOT EVEN PRC AIMS AND TAKE A FORM WHICH WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF CIRCUMSCRIBING THE FREEDOM OF MANEUVER WHICH NEEDS TO BE PRESERVED ON THE TAIWAN ACCESS QUESTION. THE SECRETARY GENERAL IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ON THIS SCORE. THERE APPEARS TO THE DELEGATION TO BE A GREAT NEED  
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AT THIS JUNCTURE TO COUNTERBALANCE THE INFLUENCE ON PAKISTAN'S ACTIONS WHICH PRESENTLY IS COMING ONLY FROM THE SIDE OF THE PRC. END COMMENT.

6. RECOMMENDATION: THE DELEGATION BELIEVES THE GOP AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE APPRISED PROMPTLY OF OUR VIEWS ON THIS MATTER, PREFERABLY IN WASHINGTON AS WELL AS IN ISLAMABAD, AND URGED STRONGLY TO ADOPT THE FORMULATION QUOTED PARA 3 ABOVE.  
MARSHALL

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